

## Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00 INRE-00

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FM USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2473

INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY

USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 SALT TWO GENEVA 0069

EXDIS/SALT

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y - SUBJECT LINE

DEPT ALSO PASS DOD

SPECAT EXCLUSIVE FOR SECDEF

E.O. 11652: XGDSI

TAGS: PARM

SUBJ: AMBASSADOR JOHNSON'S STATEMENT OF MARCH 7, 1975

(SALT TWO-549).

THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY AMBASSADOR  
JOHNSON AT THE SALT TWO MEETING OF MARCH 7, 1975.

STATEMENT BY AMBASSADOR JOHNSON  
MARCH 7, 1975

MR. MINISTER:

I

ON MARCH 5 I PRESENTED THE DRAFT TEXT OF AN AGREEMENT  
ON THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS. TODAY I WILL  
BEGIN TO SET FORTH AN EXPOSITION OF THAT DRAFT, INCLUDING THE  
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CONSIDERATIONS UPON WHICH ITS PROVISIONS WERE FORMULATED.

THESE CONSIDERATIONS TAKE INTO ACCOUNT OUR NEED TO DEVELOP AN AGREEMENT WHICH IS CLEAR, PRECISE AND UNAMBIGUOUS.

II

ARTICLE I OF THE US DRAFT SETS FORTH THE BROAD OBLIGATIONS BEING UNDERTAKEN BY THE TWO PARTIES AND ESTABLISHES THE BASIS FOR THE SPECIFIC OBLIGATIONS CONTAINED IN SUBSEQUENT ARTICLES OF THE AGREEMENT.

III

IN ORDER TO TRANSLATE THE BROAD OBLIGATIONS OF ARTICLE I INTO SPECIFIC OBLIGATIONS AND TO PROVIDE FOR A CLEAR UNDERSTANDING OF THE SUBSEQUENT PROVISIONS, IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT THE KEY TERMS USED IN THE AGREEMENT BE PRECISELY DEFINED. WE BELIEVE THAT SUCH DEFINITIONS SHOULD BE CONTAINED IN THE BODY OF THE AGREEMENT ITSELF. ARTICLE II OF THE US DRAFT WAS FORMULATED WITH THIS OBJECTIVE IN MIND. THESE DEFINITIONS ARE NECESSARY FOR A CLEAR UNDERSTANDING BY BOTH SIDES OF THE OBLIGATIONS TO BE ASSUMED. SUCH AN UNDERSTANDING WILL SERVE TO REDUCE THE POSSIBILITY OF AMBIGUITIES AND UNCERTAINTIES OVER THE LIFE OF THE AGREEMENT.

THE DEFINITION OF AN INTERCONTINENTAL BALLISTIC MISSILE (ICBM) IN ARTICLE II IS BASED ON THE RELEVANT AGREED INTERPRETATION OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT. THIS AGREED INTERPRETATION DEFINES AN ICBM AS "CAPABLE OF RANGES IN EXCESS OF THE SHORTEST DISTANCE BETWEEN THE NORTHEASTERN BORDER OF THE CONTINENTAL U.S. AND THE NORTHWESTERN BORDER OF THE CONTINENTAL USSR". HOWEVER, AS WE BOTH KNOW, DIFFERENT GEOGRAPHICAL CRITERIA AND METHODS OF MEASUREMENT MAKE THIS DISTANCE SOMEWHAT IMPRECISE. THEREFORE, THIS ARTICLE CONTAINS A DEFINITE DISTANCE OF 5500 KILOMETERS WHICH IS CONSISTENT WITH THE AGREED INTERPRETATION.

THE DEFINITION OF A SUBMARINE-LAUNCHED BALLISTIC MISSILE (SLBM) IS CONSISTENT WITH THE DEFINITION SET FORTH IN THE PROCEDURES GOVERNING REPLACEMENT, DISMANTLING OR DESTRUCTION, AND NOTIFICATION THEREOF, FOR STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS DATED JULY 3, 1974.

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AS FOR HEAVY BOMBERS, THE SIDES ARE IN AGREEMENT THAT THIS TERM WILL APPLY TO SPECIFIC DESIGNATED TYPES OF AIRCRAFT. THE TYPES OF AIRCRAFT WHICH BOTH SIDES AGREE SHOULD BE COUNTED AS HEAVY BOMBERS--THAT IS, THE B-52, B-1, SOVIET TUPOLEV (BEAR) AND MYASISHCHEV (BISON)--ENCOMPASS A RANGE OF TECHNICAL CHARACTERISTICS AND INHERENT CAPABILITIES. THE TECHNICAL CHARACTERISTICS AND INHERENT CAPABILITIES OF THE

SOVIET TUPOLEV VARIABLE-GEOMETRY WING AIRCRAFT, THE BACKFIRE, FALL WITHIN THIS RANGE. THEREFORE, THE BACKFIRE IS INCLUDED AS A HEAVY BOMBER WITHIN THE 2400 AGGREGATE LIMITATION.

WE ALSO APPEAR TO BE IN GENERAL AGREEMENT THAT TYPES OF AIRCRAFT TO BE INCLUDED IN THE FUTURE AS HEAVY BOMBERS WILL BE THE SUBJECT OF CONSULTATION ON A CASE-BY-CASE BASIS. MOREOVER, THE DRAFT TEXT PROVIDES THAT TYPES OF AIRCRAFT TO BE INCLUDED AS HEAVY BOMBERS IN THE FUTURE SHALL INCLUDE AIRCRAFT WITH CAPABILITIES COMPARABLE OR SUPERIOR TO THOSE OF THE TYPES OF AIRCRAFT I HAVE ENUMERATED ABOVE.

HEAVY BOMBER TYPES CONFIGURED FOR OTHER PURPOSES, SUCH AS ANTI-SUBMARINE WARFARE OR REFUELING, COULD BE READILY UTILIZED FOR THE DELIVERY OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE WEAPONS OR ADAPTED TO SUCH USE IN A RELATIVELY SHORT PERIOD OF TIME. THEREFORE, THE DRAFT TEXT PROVIDES THAT ALL AIRCRAFT OF THESE DESIGNATED TYPES, HOWEVER CONFIGURED, ARE INCLUDED IN THE AGGREGATE.

THE DEFINITION OF AN AIR-TO-SURFACE BALLISTIC MISSILE (ASBM) AS HAVING A RANGE OVER 600 KILOMETERS IS BASED ON THE PROVISIONS OF THE AIDE-MEMOIRE OF DECEMBER 10, 1974.

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ACTION SS-25

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INASMUCH AS THE NEW AGREEMENT WILL LIMIT LAUNCHERS FOR ICBMS, SLBMS AND ASBMS, THE DRAFT INCLUDES A DEFINITION FOR A MISSILE LAUNCHER.

LAUNCHERS FOR MISSILES EQUIPPED WITH MULTIPLE INDEPENDENTLY TARGETABLE REENTRY VEHICLE (MIRV) SYSTEMS WILL BE LIMITED BY THE AGREEMENT. THEREFORE, MIRV SYSTEMS SHOULD BE DEFINED WITH CARE. IN PARTICULAR, THERE IS A POTENTIAL AMBIGUITY THAT COULD ARISE FROM THE DEPLOYMENT OF MISSILES EQUIPPED WITH MULTIPLE REENTRY VEHICLES WHICH ARE NOT INDEPENDENTLY TARGETABLE. ACCORDINGLY, WE HAVE DEFINED A MIRV SYSTEM IN A MANNER THAT DRAWS A DISTINCTION BETWEEN THESE TWO SYSTEMS.

IN MY PREVIOUS STATEMENTS I OBSERVED THAT THE SOVIET SIDE HAS TESTED WITH A SINGLE REENTRY VEHICLE AND ALSO WITH MIRVS A NEW HEAVY ICBM, WHICH WE CALL THE SS-18. THE NEW AGREEMENT SHOULD TAKE ACCOUNT OF MISSILES WHICH ARE TESTED WITH BOTH MIRVS AND SINGLE REENTRY VEHICLES. THE DRAFT, THEREFORE, DEFINES AN ICBM, SLBM OR ASBM EQUIPPED WITH A MIRV SYSTEM AS ONE WHOSE BOOSTER IS OF A TYPE THAT HAS BEEN  
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FLIGHT TESTED ONE OR MORE TIMES WITH A MIRV SYSTEM.

WE HAVE PREVIOUSLY NOTED THAT LIMITATIONS ON SILO DIMENSIONS ALONE DO NOT TAKE ADEQUATE ACCOUNT OF THE EFFECT OF TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS ON THE CAPABILITIES OF BALLISTIC MISSILES. THUS, THE US BELIEVES THAT THE NEW AGREEMENT SHOULD ESTABLISH A DEFINITION OF A HEAVY ICBM DIRECTLY RELATED TO THE MISSILE ITSELF. THE DRAFT, THEREFORE, DEFINES A HEAVY ICBM IN TERMS OF VOLUME AND THROW-WEIGHT OF THE LARGEST NON-HEAVY ICBM DEPLOYED BY EITHER PARTY PRIOR TO THE DATE OF SIGNATURE OF THE AGREEMENT. WE CONTINUE TO BELIEVE THROW-WEIGHT TO BE THE BEST MEASURE OF THE DESTRUCTIVE POTENTIAL OF BALLISTIC MISSILE SYSTEMS AND AS I TOLD YOU AT OUR LAST MEETING, I WILL SUBSEQUENTLY PROVIDE A DEFINITION OF BALLISTIC MISSILE THROW-WEIGHT. THE DEFINITION OF A HEAVY ICBM CONTAINED IN THE DRAFT ESTABLISHES THE SOVIET MISSILE WHICH WE CALL THE SS-19 AS THE LARGEST NON-HEAVY ICBM.

IV

MR. MINISTER, ARTICLES I AND II OF THE US DRAFT AGREEMENT HAVE BEEN FORMULATED TO IMPLEMENT THE UNDERSTANDING REACHED AT VLADIVOSTOK AND HAVE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT BOTH PAST EXPERIENCE AND THE VIEWS EXPRESSED BY THE SOVIET SIDE. THESE ARTICLES RECOGNIZE THE INTERESTS OF BOTH SIDES BASED ON THE

PRINCIPLES OF EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY. THEY CONSTITUTE A  
SOUND BASIS FOR UNDERSTANDING THE SCOPE AND TERMS OF THE  
OBLIGATIONS BEING ASSUMED. IN SUBSEQUENT MEETINGS, I WILL  
CONTINUE THE EXPOSITION OF OUR DRAFT TEXT.  
JOHNSON

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